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this later on. Later the child will be named according to circumstances; something about the child will suggest a name. Once in a while the first name is kept because it fits so well that the person "wears" it all the time. 551 553

Since the name relates to personality traits or to events, it is not necessarily a clue to the sex of its bearer.

When labor is excessively difficult or long delayed, and especially when sorcery is suspected, appeal is made to men or women who carry on still other ceremonies. One elder described such a rite which he had performed over a young woman. She had been in labor for about eighteen hours, and it was feared that "the baby would have to be killed and taken out in pieces to save her." In response to an urgent request from her relatives, the old man hurried to the camp with a helper. He prayed and drew a cross of black mineral substance on his helper's hand. He then directed his assistant to put his arm around the woman's body at various places and to press her gently while he began a ceremonial song of four verses. At the end of the second verse a boy was born—"born before I got through with one song." Great claims are made for these childbirth ceremonies and for these practitioners. "As soon as they touch the woman who is having a hard time, everything is made easy for her." 845 755 759

Nursing begins "as soon as the mother has milk." The colostrum is not differentiated from the milk secreted later. Concerning frequency of feedings, it was said, "I have seen that, when women have babies, as soon as they cry the mothers give them the breast." "The women boil up lots of bones and make a soup right away. They say that makes lots of milk and pure milk." If the mother's milk does not flow at once, the child is not fed the first day. If she is unable to nurse the child on the second day, it is given a little water. Should she still lack milk on the third day, the child is nursed by a mother's sister or other close relative. 853 [602]

From the mother a Spartan attitude is expected. "Women didn't lie around as they do now; they got up soon afterward." "I saw T.'s wife. She has had many children. Today she has a baby; tomorrow she is around doing something. Some lie down for an hour maybe. The next day they are up." But most con- 846 147 846

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night eat well, for if the enemy does come you can hide yourself because of the dark and get away."

Facial hair is greatly disdained, and its growth is usually attributed to disobedience of some kind. There is a test of self-discipline related to this:

My father used to tell me, "When you are old enough to go in the creek and you are in training, every now and then walk straight into the water until it reaches the place under your nose where a moustache would begin. But if you drink the water or get it in your nose or mouth you will have a moustache." I tried this several times just for fun. The older people warned us not to let the water in; they didn't want us to have moustaches. They said that if we smoked while we were little we would get a moustache too.

The last sentence of this quotation calls attention to another matter concerning which the boy receives instruction at about this time. Smoking is the prerogative of the warriors and of the older women:

They tell a boy that he will have to catch a coyote first before he can smoke, but they mean it just as a joke. Some try it, of course; that's what they tell the boys to do it for, to see them try something that no boy can do. It's just like sending a boy for the thing they call "that with which one smokes."

Among older men the admonition is used in jest: "Not long ago when I lit a cigarette an old man said to me, 'When did you catch your coyote?' I told him, 'I've never done it, and I don't believe you ever did either.' He only laughed." To smoke during the boyhood or the training period is said to make a boy "lazy and no good at work."

Gradually the boys become inured to the demands made upon them and even devise tests of character for themselves. To demonstrate their bravery, they place dry sage or the pith of the sunflower stalk on their skins, ignite it, and let it burn to ash. Even though they are burned severely enough to show a scar years later, they must not flinch.

The training described thus far is entirely in the hands of the immediate family, but, when the youth reaches the age of puberty, this hardening process takes a more formalized turn. The father lets his son know that momentous days are ahead: "There are harder things to be learned later. When you are a little older,

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513 828 and ran over a cliff in his sleep. Another fellow climbed up a tree. They called to him, "What are you doing up there?" Then he woke up.

75 Despite these instances of the nonceremonial care of ailments, a short account which contains a number of elements inspired by ritual practices indicates how arbitrary is any division of the religious and secular treatment of disease:

> You can burn charcoal on your arm or leg to kill pain.[9] You do this when you have a pain all the time. Take wood and burn it to charcoal. Then light a small piece of it again, one about the thickness of the lead in a lead pencil. Blow on it until it burns at one end and moisten the other end or the place on the arm where you are going to put it. Then stick it on. Let it burn out. Don't watch it as it burns. Some do it four times around the place where it hurts.

Here we have the fighting of like by like, the restriction against watching the flame, and the feeling that the procedure should be repeated four times; yet the sufferer does not have to possess a ceremony in order to give himself the treatment.

752 The method for curing ivy poisoning and red-ant stings obviously borrows from the psychology of ritual also:

> My people knew about poison ivy and how to recognize it. If I touch poison ivy, the blisters break out, because I am sensitive to it. But perhaps you are not. Then my father and mother will call you over, because, though you touch it, it does not bother you. You don't have to be a shaman or know anything special. You come and rub anything on—it might be dirt. You say, "Now this person is just like me. Leave him alone. Go away. I'm watching him." It's the same with the sting of the red ant or any stinging thing.

515 751 757 *Sweat-bathing.*—Another practice that stands midway between therapeutics and ritual is sweat-bathing. Many who have used the sweat bath consider it a means of keeping fit and are little concerned with its ritual extensions. "I used to do it just for a general tonic," explained one informant. Even when the sweat bath is thought of as a cure for deformities, it is to the heat and the massage that the benefits are usually attributed. Said one commentator: "The sweat bath was the custom since the beginning. Maybe it was supposed to be a ceremony, but since then it has been wearing off."

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[9] This method is similar to the tests of courage popular with young boys (cf. p. 69).

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754 one way of finding them out. . . . . They say that a man is sure-
[291] ly a witch if he is rich and yet doesn't wear clean clothes."

Though one informant asserted that "witches have a peculiar
[147] odor, something like the odor of spoiled meat; if you smell it, it may have a bad influence on you," others rejected this idea.
[262] Sensitivity to elk meat provides a test: "If you are a witch and eat elk, you throw up. Elk meat stays down in a good man."

It is not unusual for a trap to be laid for the sorcerer:

[273] There was a fellow who was considered a witch. You know that tiswin or beer that the Indians make out of corn. One shaman had a root which, if given to a witch in this tiswin or in coffee, would kill him. It wouldn't do harm to any other person. A man told me about this incident who was present when it happened. It was thought that the man to whom this was done was a witch, because shamans had often pointed to him as the man who caused sickness. So this shaman told several people privately that he was going to give the root to the witch in tiswin this time. He told the other people to go ahead and drink the tiswin, for it wouldn't harm them. When the witch came over, some of this root was put in his tiswin. The witch went home and soon had stomach trouble. He died in a few days. Other people drank the same tiswin and were all right.

784 The victim's guardian spirit may furnish information about
787 the attacks of the witch:

My children and my wife all died over at the hospital. They died because the doctor can't help them in matters of witchcraft. I could tell by my dream that my wife was witched. In my dream I heard a voice that told me. Sometimes the witch appeared to me in my dream. But I could not stop it. I know who the witches who killed my wife and children were. They are dead now. In my dream I saw that some witches just talk, just go through a ceremony of words, and influence the people that way. Since that time I have not cared much about dreams; I did not care to be notified any more.

75 Very often none of the devices enumerated serves to ferret out
578 the evildoer. "A man might be living with a witch and not know it; it might be his wife." The witch who so skilfully masks his identity is exposed only when a ceremony over a sick person is held by a shaman powerful enough to learn the true cause. Accordingly, the most spectacular curing rites are those which constitute a battle, not against natural indispositions nor yet against the evil influence of dangerous animals and forces, but against the sorcerer.

The word "battle" is chosen advisedly. The entire contest be-

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BOY TRAINING, RAIDING, AND WAR

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Shortly after the Apache boy reached the age of puberty, his relatives took measures to strengthen and harden him. They insisted that he rise very early in the morning and perform certain duties, such as driving the horses to or from pastures. An older male relative undertook the task of training him at this period. He might order the boy to test his strength against a young tree and pull it up by the roots, or to lift and throw a heavy stone. The boy was made to run long distances up hill with a load on his back and when he returned had to spit out water which he had been given to hold in his mouth at the start of the run. Often he had to race in this manner in competition with other boys of his age, and the one who lagged behind felt the switch of some older man who accompanied the youths. Sometimes these boys chose sides and opposed each other in strenuous mock battles in which blunt arrows and light lances were the weapons used. Foot races, bareback horse riding, and wrestling matches were part of a program as arduous as the boy's elders could devise. In winter the boy had to roll in the snow, and when the ice formed on the lakes, he was taken early one morning and tossed into the water. Often he was made to keep awake the entire night or for an even longer period, in order to prove that he could stand guard over the camps with the men when danger threatened.

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Later on, when the youth was about sixteen years old, he entered a critical period of training, designed to leave him an accredited warrior. During this period he had to attend four raids or war parties, not as a fighter or participant, but as an apprentice and servant to the older men. Until he had fulfilled his obligations the boy wore a single eagle feather in his hair and had to be careful of all that he said and did. Moral laxity, disobedience, or laziness at this time would fix these undesirable traits in his character for life. On these first four expeditions he took with him a [415] reed drinking tube and a wooden scratcher, for he could not [271] allow water to touch his lips, nor might he scratch his skin [413] with his nails.